

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
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EXDIS

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TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US

SUBJECT: DISCUSSIONS WITH GRAHAM ON ALL-PARTIES MEETING
ON RHODESIA

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING SECRETARY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH OWEN
MARCH 8, JOHNNY GRAHAM RETURNED TO DEPARTMENT MARCH 9 FOR
FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH AF AND S/P ON PLANNING FOR ALL-
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PARTIES MEETING ON RHODESIA. PURPOSE OF LENGTHY DIS-
CUSSIONS WAS TO RAISE ISSUES THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE TACKLED
IN ORGANIZING AND STRUCTURING THE PROPOSED MEETING.
GRAHAM SPECIFICALLY RAISED THE POSSIBILITY, ONCE PARTIES
HAVE AGREED TO ATTEND, OF HIS MEETING WITH A MEMBER OF
SMITH'S CABINET IN SOUTH AFRICA IN ORDER TO PREPARE THEM
FOR THE MEETING. GRAHAM ALSO SAID THAT, UPON RETURNING
TO LONDON, HE WOULD INSTRUCT FCO TO PREPARE A "STEERING
BRIEF" LAYING OUT HOW THE ALL-PARTIES MEETING MIGHT BE
FTIUATED- HE HOPED TO HAVE DRAFT OF PAPER TO US BY

FRIDAY EVENING FOR OUR COMMENTS AND CLEARANCE. IN ADDITION, FCO WILL BE PREPARING SERIES OF OTHER PAPERS DEALING WITH SPECIFIC ISSUES LIKELY TO BE RAISED AT A MEETING. END SUMMARY.

1. JOHNNY GRAHAM, ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN ROBINSON AND BILL SQUIRE, SPENT FOUR HOURS AT DEPARTMENT MARCH 9 WITH EDMONDSON AND PETTERSON (AF), MARIANNE SPIEGEL (S/P) AND GEORGE MOOSE (P) DISCUSSING TACTICS FOR ORGANIZING AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING ON RHODESIA, THE STRUCTURING OF A MEETING AND ISSUES TO BE DEALT WITH. OUR CONSIDERATION OF NEXT STEPS IN APPROACHING OTHER FRONT LINE STATES FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF A MEETING WAS OVERTAKEN BY RERORT OF NYERERE'S REACTION TO OUR PROPOSAL AND THAT AT HIS MARCH 9 PRESS CONFERENCE THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED OUR INTENTION TO SEEK A M:ETING.

2. GRAHAM PROPOSED THAT, SHOULD PARTIES AGREE TO A MEETING, IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR HIM TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA FOR A PRIOR, UNPUBLICIZED MEETING WITH A SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SMITH REGIME, PERHAPS CABINET SECRETARY GAYLARD. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD NOT YET BROACHED THIS IDEA WITH OWEN AND THEREFORE COULD NOT PREDICT OWEN'S REACTION, SECRET

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BUT HE THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT THAT WE ATTEMPT TO RENEW POLICY LEVEL CONTACT WITH THE SMITH REGIME IN ADVANCE TO IMPROVE CHANCES THAT A MEETING WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL. PURPOSE OF THIS MEETING, AS GRAHAM EXPLAINED IT, WOULD BE TO DEFUSE SOME OF THE NEGATIVISM WITH WHICH SMITH MIGHT OTHERWISE APPROACH AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AND TO ALLAY SMITH'S CONCERNS ABOUT "BEING PLACED IN THE DOCK." WHEN PRESSED ON WHAT HE MIGHT SAY SPECIFICALLY TO SMITH'S REPRESENTATIVE, GRAHAM SAID HE WOULD FIRST EXPLAIN HOW UNSATISFACTORY THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN SALISBURY ARE AND WHY THEY COULD NOT BE ENDORSED BY BRITAIN OR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. AT THE SAME TIME, GRAHAM SAID HE WOULD ASSURE SMITH THAT MEETING WAS NOT INTENDED TO FORCE HIM TO ACCEPT ALL OF THE DETAILS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND THAT WE ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES THAT MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE PARTIES. IN THIS CONNECTION, GRAHAM SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THE IDEA OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, WHICH HE ARGUES SMITH COULD NEVER BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT.

3. WE TOLD GRAHAM THAT WE DID NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE IDEA OF A PRIOR UNPUBLICIZED MEETING WITH SMITH'S REPRESENTATIVES BUT WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER IT FURTHER. WE CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT WERE SUCH A MEETING TO TAKE PLACE, WE WOULD NOT WANT TO SAY ANYTHING THAT WOULD GIVE SMITH THE IMPRESSION THAT SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THE AAP MIGHT NECESSARILY BE MODIFIED OR ELIMINATED TO SUIT HIM. WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES MIGHT

PRODUCE A NEW FORMULATION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL, WE DID NOT WISH TO APPEAR TO BE SURRENDERING IN ADVANCE IMPORTANT FEATURES OF OUR PROPOSALS, SUCH AS THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. GRAHAM TOOK THE POINT.

4. AFTER LUNCH, DISCUSSION TURNED TO HOW A MEETING OF THE PARTIES SHOULD BE STRUCTURED. GRAHAM SAID HE HAD NOT HAD

TIME TO FOCUS ON THIS PROBLEM AND THEREFORE ALL HIS VIEWS
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WERE SPONTANEOUS AND AD REFERENDUM. UPON HIS RETURN TO LONDON, HE WOULD INSTRUCT HIS STAFF TO PREPARE A "STEERING PAPER" THAT WOULD ADDRESS THE AIMS, STRATEGY, AGENDA AND STRUCTURE OF THE MEETING. HE WOULD TRY TO PROVIDE US WITH A DRAFT OF THE PAPER BY EVENING OF MARCH 10 SO THAT FCO COULD HAVE OUR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS EARLY NEXT WEEK. GRAHAM SAID THAT FCO WOULD ALSO BE DRAFTING SUBJECT BRIEFS WITH MORE DETAILED EXAMINATION OF SPECIFIC ISSUES LIKELY TO BE RAISED AT MEETING. (ALTHOUGH GRAHAM DID NOT OFFER TO SHARE THESE WITH US, WE TRUST THAT FCO WOULD NOT OBJECT TO DOING SO.)

5. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT WE OURSELVES HAD GIVEN ONLY PRELIMINARY THOUGHT TO HOW MEETING MIGHT BE STRUCTURED, WE SUGGESTED THAT A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF ISSUES, DRAWING UPON PAPER PREPARED BY MARIANNE SPIEGEL, MIGHT BE USEFUL. ASKED FOR HIS VIEWS ON WHAT OUR OVERALL AIM SHOULD BE, GRAHAM SUGGESTED THAT MEETING SHOULD HAVE AS ITS OBJECTIVE PROGRESS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD GIVE EFFECT TO PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THESE PRINCIPLES WOULD HAVE TO BE REFINED IN ADVANCE OF THE MEETING AND SHOULD INCLUDE SUCH ELEMENTS AS A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER, A PROCESS LEADING TO FAIR AND OPEN ELECTIONS, UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, ETC. ONCE DEFINED, WE WOULD THEN HAVE TO ESTABLISH THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THESE PRINCIPLES COULD BE GIVEN EFFECT, E.G., A NON-POLITICAL ARMY THAT WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE TO THE NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT; APPROPRIATE CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS; A JUSTICIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS; MEANS OF CREATING CONDITIONS IN WHICH ELECTIONS COULD BE CONDUCTED WITHOUT FEAR OF INTIMIDATION, ETC. GRAHAM ALSO SUGGESTED A CATEGORY OF DESIRABLE BUT NON-ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS THAT WE WOULD SEEK TO MEET, E.G., IMPARTIAL, OUTSIDE OBSERVATION OF ELECTIONS.
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7. TURNING TO SPECIFIC ISSUES, WE SUGGESTED THAT IN CONSIDERING THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD, WE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES THAT WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE RESOLVED. THE MOST CRITICAL

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OUR PROPOSALS AND THE SALISBURY AGREEMENTS IS THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARLIAMENT AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL BLOCKING MECHANISM. CLEARLY THIS ARRANGEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED TO SOMETHING THAT MIGHT BE MADE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE PARTIES. IN ADDITION, THERE WERE OTHER ISSUES THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED CONSTITUTIONAL IN NATURE, SUCH AS PENSION GUARANTEES AND THE POSSIBLE INCLUSION IN THE CONSTITUTION OF PROVISIONS THAT WOULD ASSURE RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AND

AFRICANIZATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE. THE LATTER WOULD SEEM PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IF THERE WERE NO AGREEMENT ON HOW TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF DISCRIMINATION, AFRICANIZATION AND OTHER FORMS OF REQUIRED SOCIAL CHANGE DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AS IS PROVIDED FOR UNDER OUR OWN PROPOSALS.

8. GRAHAM ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF A TRANSITIONAL NATURE (E.G., RESTRUCTURING THE CIVIL SERVICE, INVALIDATING DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION) THAT MIGHT BE WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION AND THAT THERE ARE WAYS OF DOING THIS. HIS PREFERENCE, HOWEVER, WAS TO TRY TO HAVE THESE ISSUES DEALT WITH AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS. THE ONLY MAJOR ISSUE THAT WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO TACKLE IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING IS THAT OF WHITE REPRESENTATION. HIS SUGGESTED APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM AT THE MEETING WAS THAT WE SIMPLY OPEN THE ISSUE UP TO SUGGESTIONS FROM THE PARTIES, EXPRESSING OUR WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT WHATEVER FORMULA WAS AGREEABLE TO THEM. HE WAS NOT AVERSE, HOWEVER, TO OUR PROPOSING TO
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THE PARTIES A NUMBER OF THEORETICAL ALTERNATIVES, INCLUDING THOSE CONTAINED IN THE AAP. ON ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION, WE AGREED THAT OUR AIM SHOULD BE TO GET AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES TO THE DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION CONTAINED IN THE AAP.

9. IT WAS AGREED THAT IN DISCUSSING TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE PARTIES, WE SHOULD BEGIN WITH THE POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS, LEAVING MILITARY AND SECURITY QUESTIONS FOR LAST. THE PRINCIPAL ISSUE WOULD BE THE STRUCTURE, COMPOSITION AND ROLE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, E.G. WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE A GOVERNING OR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND WHETHER SUCH BODY SHOULD BE AUGMENTED BY A MINISTERIAL COUNCIL, AS IS PROVIDED FOR IN THE SALISBURY AGREEMENTS. GRAHAM REITERATED THE VIEW EXPRESSED BY OWEN THE PREVIOUS DAY THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WAS ONE FEATURE OF THE AAP THAT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE ELIMINATED, SINCE NONE OF THE PARTIES REALLY WANTED THE BRITISH TO PLAY SUCH A ROLE AND SMITH IN PARTICULAR COULD NEVER BE BROUGHT TO

ACCEPT IT, AHAM ALSO REPEATED OWEN'S COROLLARY SUGGESTION THAT A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER MIGHT BE FOUND IN MAKING NKOMO CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE/GOVERNING COUNCIL.

10. WE RESPONDED TO GRAHAM'S SUGGESTIONS BY POINTING OUT THAT THE ROLE OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WAS A KEY FEATURE OF THE AAP, FULFILLING THE ESSENTIAL NEED TO PROVIDE FOR

THE IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD. ANY SUGGESTION THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO SCRAP THE IDEA OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD BE SEEN BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONT LINE AS WITHDRAWING FROM THE AAP ITSELF.

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WHILE WE UNDERSTOOD THE BASIS FOR SMITH'S OPPOSITION, WE WERE NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT THE OTHER PARTIES COULD NOT BE BROUGHT TO ENDORSE THE IDEA. WHILE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER WHATEVER ALTERNATIVES THE PARTIES THEMSELVES MIGHT PUT FORWARD, WE SHOULD NOT IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE SEEN AS WITHDRAWING THIS AND OTHER FEATURES OF OUR PROPOSALS FROM POSSIBLE CONSIDERATION. AS FOR THE IDEA OF MAKING NKOMO CHAIRMAN OF A TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, WE COULD NOT SEE ANY LIKLIHOOD THAT THE OTHER PARTIES WOULD ACCEPT THIS. FOR THIS REASON IT SEEMED TO US AN IMPRACTICABLE ALTERNATIVE. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO CHARACTERIZE AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT HEADED BY NKOMO AS ONE THAT WOULD GUARANTEE THE KIND OF IMPARTIALITY AND FAIRNESS WE HAVE MADE THE HALLMARK OF OUR OWN PROPOSALS.

11. GRAHAM ACCEPTED OUR POINT THAT IN DEALING WITH THE PARTIES WE SHOULD DO NOTHING TO IMPLY A WITHDRAWAL FROM OR LESSENING OF SUPPORT FOR THE SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF OUR OWN PROPOSALS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, HE STRESSED THAT WE SHOULD NOT APPEAR TO BE STEADFASTLY WEDDED TO SPECIFICS OF OUR PROPOSALS, BUT INSTEAD INDICATE OUR READINESS TO CONSIDER ANY ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS THAT THE PARTIES THEMSELVES MIGHT PROPOSE AND THAT ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE AAP.

12. COMMENT: WHILE WE BELIEVE OUR WARNINGS ABOUT NOT APPEARING TO ABANDON WITH UNDUE HASTE THE DETAILS OF THE AAP HAD SOME IMPACT ON GRAHAM, WE ARE NEVERTHELESS CONCERNED BY INDICATIONS THAT THE BRITISH MAY BE APPROACHING AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WITH OBJECTIVES SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN. IN PARTICULAR GRAHAM, FOLLOWING OWEN'S LEAD, SEEMS CLEARLY READY TO SCRAP KEY FEATURES OF OUR PROPOSALS (E.G. THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER) AT THE OUTSET, EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF A WORKABLE AND ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE. UNDOUBTEDLY WE WILL HAVE TO TACKLE THIS ISSUE

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WITH THE BRITISH AGAIN, THE NEXT OPPORTUNITY BEING OUR
REVIEW-OF THE DRAFT "STEERING PAPER" THAT GRAHAM HAS
PROMISED. VANCE

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